

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 200006  
ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /015 R

66011  
DRAFTED BY IO/ML:MJACOBS  
APPROVED BY IO:TBROWN  
-----008653 090932Z /21

R 082019Z AUG 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 200006

FOL RPT BELGRADE 5596 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO NAM COLLECTIVE  
USNATO SEOUL TEL AVIV JUL 31, 1978

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 5596

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG  
SUBJECT: BELGRADE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE: PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT

SUMMARY: THE YUGOSLAVS AT BELGRADE GENERALLY MANAGED TO PRE-SERVE THEIR KEY THEMES OF UNITY AND "TRUE" NON-ALIGNMENT THROUGH TO THE FINAL DECLARATION. FOR THE LONG RUN, HOWEVER, BOTH THE BASIC IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS IN THE NAM AND A COLLECTION OF REGIONAL QUARRELS CLEARLY PERSIST. THE MOST EFFECTIVE PROTECTION FOR THE MOVEMENT AGAINST THREATS TO ITS UNITY AND DIRECTION LIES--AS DEMONSTRATED AT BELGRADE--IN AROUSED AND ACTIVE CONCERN BY "MODERATES" IN THE MOVEMENT. ON THE OTHER ISSUES, MINISTERS APPROVED AN EXTREMELY HARSH TEXT ON THE MIDDLE EAST, ENDORSED THE LINK BETWEEN ZIONISM AND RACISM, AND ACCEPTED LANGUAGE OFFENSIVE TO US ON PUERTO RICO. EMBASSY WILL PROVIDE SEPTELS OUR COMENTS ON KEY PORTIONS OF THE DECLARATION AS WELL AS AN ASSESSMENT OF THE OUTCOME FROM THE YUGOSLAV PERSPECTIVE. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 200006

1. THE FOLLOWING IS A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF THE BELGRADE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS. IT REFLECTS NEITHER AN EXHAUSTIVE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FINAL DECLARATION NOR A POST-CONFERENCE ASSESSMENT BY THE YUGOSLAV HOSTS.

2. IDEOLOGY. KEYING OFF PRESIDENT TITO'S OPENING SPEECH, THE BBELGRADE CONFERENCE FOCUSED FOR SIX DAYS ON THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF NAM DEFINITION AND DIRECTION. IN THIS REGARD, BELGRADE MUST BE VIEWED AS A TACTICAL SUCCESS FOR THE YUGOSLAVS. CONCERNED OVER RECENT DIVISIONS IN THE MOVEMENT AND OVER CUBAN ACTIVISM IN AFRICA AND THE NAM, THE YUGOSLAVS INTENDED THE CONFERENCE AS A CONSOLIDATION EXERCISE FOR THE MOVEMENT, EMPHASIZING THE UNIFYING OVER THE DIVISIVE ELEMENTS, DUSTING OFF THE NAM LEGACY OF PRINCIPLES OF "TRUE NON-ALIGNMENT" (I. E. NOT PRO-SOCIALIST), OPPOSING INTERFERENCE IN NAM STATES AND ACTIVATING "MODERATE" ELEMENTS AS A CHECK TO INDEFATIGABLE CUBAN DESIGNS TO COERCE THE NAM IN DIRECTIONS CONSONANT WITH CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES.

3. FOR THE CONFERENCE, THE YUGOSLAVS SUCCEEDED. SPEAKER AFTER SPEAKER ECHOED TITO'S OPENING CALL FOR UNITY. DIVISIVE BATTLES OVER REGIONAL ISSUES WERE LARGELY AVOIDED (AT THE COST OF AN EXTREMELY HARSH CONFERENCE STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST). POLEMICS AROSE PRINCIPALLY IN THE CONTEXT OF CUBA'S PROSPECTIVE CHAIRMANSHP OF THE MOVEMENT, WITH EGYPT, ZAIRE, MOROCCO, AND SOMALIA LEADING THE ANTI-CUBAN CHARGE. THE POLEMICS WERE CONTAINED, BUT BY THE CLOSING THE UNIFYING THEME WAS BADLY TATTERED AND MIGHT NOT HAVE SURVIVED HAD THE CONFERENCE BEEN FURTHER EXTENDED. THE AMBIGUOUS LANGUAGE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 200006

ON NON-INTERFERENCE ADOPTED GAVE SOMETHING TO EVERY-BODY. IN GENERAL, THE YUGOSLAV EMPHASIS ON THE "NON-BLOC" CHARACTER OF THE NAM SURVIVED INTACT. IN SHORT, THE YUGOSLAVS, WITH MUY STRONG SUPPORT FOR INDIA, SRI LANKA AND OTHERS, JUST MANAGED TO KEEP THE LID ON AT BELGRADE AND GAVE UP LITTLE GROUND IN THE FINAL DECLARATION IN THEIR BASIC REAFFIRMATION OF NON-ALIGNMENT AS A FORCE OPPOSED TO AFFILIATION WITH EITHER BLOC.

4. OTHER ISSUES: FROM THE NAM (AND MORE CERTAINLY THE YUGOSLAVS) PERSPECTIVE, REGIONAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES AT BELGRADE WERE DISTINCTLY SECONDARY TO THE IDEOLOGICAL TUSSLE OVER DEFINING THE CHARACTER AND DIRECTION OF THE MOVEMENT. FROM THE U. S. POINT OF VIEW, HOWEVER, BY FAR THE MOST DAMAGING OF THE REGIONAL ISSUES WAS AN EXTREMELY HARSH SECTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST, REPEATEDLY CASTIGATING THE U. S. BY NAME (BUT NOT SADAT) AND FIRMLY IMPLANTING THE LINKAGE OF ZIONISM WITH RACISM. THE LANGUAGE ON PUERTO RICO WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE U. S. THE LANGUAGE ON KOREA WAS RELATIVELY MODERATE, AS THE NORTH KOREANS SOUGHT TO MINIMIZE RESERVATIONS. TREATMENT OF OTHER REGIONAL SECTIONS EMERGED MORE OR

LESS STANDARD FOR THE NAM. TUNISIAN/YUGOSLAV MODERATION ON INFORMATION ISSUES SURVIVED. THE ECONOMIC SECTION WAS A ROUGH CALL FOR PROGRESS ON THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (NIEO) BUT AVOIDED POLEMICS.

5. THE LONG RUN. IN THE LONGER VIEW, HOWEVER, BELGRADE WAS AT BEST A PALLIATIVE FOR AN IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT WITHIN THE NAM WHICH WILL CONTINUE. THE CUBANS AT BELGRADE, CONCEDED THE HOME FIELD ADVANTAGE AND MINDFUL OF THE NEED TO QUIET FEARS AND BUILD BROADER SUPPORT FOR THEIR FORTH-COMING ROLE AS NAM CHAIRMAN (IN 1979), COULD HAVE PRESSED SOME ISSUES HARDER. THEY DID, HOWEVER, ATTACK THE YUGOSLAV FORMULATIONS WHERE THEY COULD AND FORCEFULLY RETURNED THE FIRE FROM THOSE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 200006

ATTACKING THE CUBAN ROLE IN THE NAM. NOR HAS THEIR CONVICTION DAMPENED ONE IOTA THAT CUBA, AS A REPOSITORY OF TRUE REVOLUTIONARY VALUES, MUST CONTINUE TO TRY TO BEND THE NAM TOWARD ITS "NATURAL ALLIES" IN THE SOCIALIST CAMP. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE "MODERATE" LEADERSHIP OF YUGOSLAVIA, INDIA AND SRI LANKA QUIETLY BUT EFFECTIVELY DEFENDED THEIR POSITIONS AT THE CONFERENCE AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. BELGRADE ALSO SAW A CAST OF OTHER "MODERATES" ACTIVELY ENGAGED. EGYPT, ZAIRE, SOMALIA, MOROCCO, SENEGAL AND KUWAIT WERE PERHAPS MOST VOCAL, BUT A NUMBER OF STATES (LIKE TOGO, NIGER, GABON AND IVORY COAST) STOOD UP IN THE "MODERATE" RANKS AND WERE COUNTED, SOME OF THEM FOR THE FIRST TIME.

6. WHERE WILL THIS IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT LEAD? MOST IMMEDIATELY IT LEADS TO THE HAVANA NAM SUMMIT IN 1979. THE BELGRADE DECLARATION REAFFIRMED BASIC PRINCIPLES OF NON-ALIGNMENT WHICH WILL (IN AN UNSTRUCTURED MOVEMENT WHERE PRECEDENT IS KEY) HAVE SOME VALUE AS A CHECK ON CUBAN DESIGNS. BUT BELGRADE FAILED TO EVEN RECOMMEND ANY INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS (DEFINING THE NATURE OF A NAM "CONSENSUS", RESTRICTING THE POWERS OF THE CHAIRMAN, REORGANIZING THE COORDINATING BUREAU (STEERING GROUP) WHICH WOULD ALSO HAVE ACTED AS A HEDGE ON CUBAN ACTIVISM. THE BEST THE "MODERATES" COULD DO WAS INSIST THAT THE COORDINATING BUREAU, AS IT PREPARED THE HAVANA CONFERENCE, REMAIN OPEN TO THE VIEWS OF ALL NAM STATES.

7. IN TRUTH THE ONLY PROTECTION FOR A CONTINUATION OF "TRUE" NON-ALIGNMENT IN THE NAM IS IN THE MOVEMENT ITSELF--IN THE INTEREST, DEDICATION AND ACTIVISM OF ITS MEMBERS. MANY "MODERATES" IN THE NAM POINT TO 17 YEARS OF NAM PRECEDENT AND TO THE VERY SIZE AND DIVERSITY OF THE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 200006

NAM AS ADEQUATE CHECKS AGAINST ANY ONE COUNTRY PULLING  
THE MOVEMENT OFF ITS CENTRAL COURSE. PERHAPS, BUT BELGRADE  
SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT THE SUREST PROTECTION IS  
AN AROUSED AND INFORMED INTEREST IN NAM STATES THEMSELVES  
IN THE SURVIVAL OF THE BASIC "ANTI-BLOC" PRINCIPLES UPON  
WHICH THE MOVEMENT WAS FOUNDED.  
EAGLEBURGER  
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** NONALIGNMENT, MINISTERIAL MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 08 aug 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978STATE200006  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** MJACOBS  
**Enclosure:** REPEATS 78 BELGRADE 5596  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780325-0898  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780886/aaaacukr.tel  
**Line Count:** 183  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 9b150467-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN IO  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 03 may 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1802119  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** BELGRADE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE: PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT SUMMARY: THE YUGOSLAVS AT BELGRADE GENERALLY MANAGED TO PRE- SERVE THEIR KEY THEMES OF UNITY AND "TRUE" NON-ALI  
**TAGS:** PORG, PINR, NAM  
**To:** PARIS  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/9b150467-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014